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ABSTRACT

This report of the United Nations 11th conference is distributed in the hope that it will stimulate study, research, and education with respect to the United Nations and its vital role in achieving international peace and security and a better world. In 1976, international statesmen, diplomats, and scholars assembled at Charlottesville, Virginia to explore how nations may cooperate more effectively in their relationships with one another, without undue infringement upon national independence. Particular attention was given to the questions of a new international economic order and arms limitation and disarmament. Conference participants concluded that the United Nations needs more support from its member nations and their peoples. National governments have an obligation to bring international problems to the United Nations and to build closer ties with the United Nations into their national governmental structure. On the other hand, the United Nations must earn support by successful management of those problems for which it has been given sufficient management authority. (Author/RM)

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Managing Interdependence

Eleventh Conference on the United Nations of the Next Decade

CHARLOTTESVILLE, VIRGINIA, U.S.A.

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JUNE 27 - JULY 3, 1976

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Foreword

The Eleventh Conference on the United Nations of the Next Decade assembled international statesmen, diplomats and scholars at Charlottesville, Virginia, U.S.A., under the auspices of The Stanley Foundation. Their deliberations on the topic "Managing Interdependence" explored how nations may cooperate more effectively in their relationships with one another, without undue infringement upon national independence. Particular attention was given to the questions of a new international economic order and arms limitation and disarmament.

A variety of topics concerning the increased effectiveness of the United Nations were considered at ten earlier conferences: San Francisco, California, U.S.A., 1965; Burgenstock, Switzerland, 1967; Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia, 1968; Quebec, Canada, 1969; Fredensborg, Denmark, 1970; Sinaia, Romania, 1971; South Egremont, Massachusetts, U.S.A., 1972; Amalfi, Italy, 1973; Vail, Colorado, U.S.A., 1974; and Baden bei Wien, Austria, 1975. Participants have offered suggestions to encourage nation-states to maximize their participation and support of the United Nations. The time focus of these conferences has been the next decade, in order to avoid undue concentration on today's crises and unwarranted attention to utopian objectives.

Conference participants have been knowledgeable about the United Nations and personally convinced that it needs to play a more viable role in world affairs. They have participated as individuals rather than as representatives of government.

The format of this conference has been an informal off-the-record exchange of ideas and opinions. No time has been spent in the presentation and debate of prepared papers or positions. No effort has been exerted to achieve consensus where difference of opinion has been noted. The Conference Statement was prepared by the rapporteurs to reflect the essence of discussions.

The report is distributed in the hope that it will stimulate study, research and education with respect to the United Nations and its vital role in achieving international peace and security and a better world.

Participant List 1

Conference Statement
Managing Interdependence ... 3

Chairman's Statement
Opening Remarks 32
Observations 39

Message From
Secretary-General Waldheim 42

About The Stanley Foundation — Inside Back Cover

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CONFERENCE STATEMENT:*

Managing Interdependence

One of the great challenges of our time is the need to develop better ways to manage international interdependence. We are all dependent on each other because we all live on the same small planet. The world must respond to the fact of growing interdependence.

INTERDEPENDENCE NOW AND IN THE NEXT DECADE

Meaning of Interdependence

When we refer to "interdependence" in the world community, we mean the mutual dependence of nations and their peoples on one another. Many actions by one nation fundamentally affect, and are of legitimate interest to, other nations.

The interdependence of nations necessarily implies that they have common interest. These common interests exist in spite of disagreements on how best to advance these interest.

The concepts of mutual dependence and common interest include recognition that the degree of dependence and the degree of mutuality vary among nations and among the various international problems. However, all nations are dependent on others to some extent, and all should be involved in the international decision-making processes which affect them.

* *This Conference Statement was prepared by the rapporteurs; was reviewed by the participants in their final conference session; and was revised by the rapporteurs, taking into account the participants' comments during the review session. The statement indicates the participants' consensus or lack of consensus. Participants were not asked to sign the statement, and it should not be assumed that every participant subscribes to every recommendation. The rapporteurs accept full responsibility for any error.*

C. M. Stanley

Interdependence is related to the independence of nations. Some participants in this conference are celebrating their nation's 200th birthday; others gained their independence earlier; still others saw their nations achieve independence during their own lifetimes. Both old and new nations have struggled for their independence, and most are fiercely determined to maintain it. We believe that nation-states can and must be both independent and interdependent. The right of each nation to be itself — and to be different — must be protected.

Nations have differing systems, differing objectives, and differing problems. However, all nations face the common reality that no nation can achieve its objectives or solve its problems alone; they must necessarily do so in cooperation with others.

The Fact of Increasing Interdependence

The concept of interdependence is not new. Many cultures teach that human beings are dependent on each other, and indeed that they are brothers and sisters. For thousands of years nations have built relationships of mutual dependence, often within regional groupings.

Three things are relatively new: global interdependence; the large and growing number of ways in which we are interdependent; and the imperatives which require the world community to develop better ways to deal with interdependence.

Modern weapons may destroy human civilization if one nation commits aggression or makes a miscalculation. The armaments race and the high cost of armed forces are heavy burdens on most nations and their peoples. The world

Abdullaev

Ahmed

Akhund

economic system has grown more complex and now has a greater impact upon all nations. Inadequate economic and social development, population pressures, environmental damage, or denial of human rights in any nation cannot be isolated; other nations are affected. The entire world is now dependent on limited food supplies and limited natural resources, some of which are non-renewable. Science, technology, global communications, and the rapid exchange of ideas have shrunk our planet into a small community. Growing interdependence is unavoidable in a smaller and more crowded world.

Interdependence has also been increased and complicated by the rapid growth in the number of nations. No longer can a few nations make the decisions. Now there are many more decision-making centers.

The dramatic increase in the number and scope of international organizations is both a response to international interdependence and a contributing factor. The United Nations and the entire system of international organizations, inadequate though they may be, influence national decisions and make possible more cooperative action.

Our interdependence and the need to cope with its problems are increasing and apparently will continue to increase during the coming decade. This development is creating new mutual interests, even though the world is slow to recognize them.

World interdependence is not a debatable proposition. It is an unavoidable fact.

Blyden

Boston

Buffum

Response to Interdependence

We cannot change the fact of interdependence, but we can determine how we respond to this fact.

We believe the wise and realistic response is to build a system of mutual cooperation to solve common problems of the world community on the basis of the principles of the U.N. Charter and respect for national independence, sovereignty, and equality, while protecting each nation's right to free choice of its own internal institutions and policies, without foreign interference.

The wise management of interdependence should include:

1. Cooperative decision-making on mutual problems that cannot be managed by national action. However, each nation must also be as self-reliant as possible, doing everything within its power toward solving its problems.

2. Mutual participation. All nations are entitled to share in international decision-making on global problems.

3. Voluntary participation by nations.

4. Creativity and flexibility in seeking solutions.

5. Improved methods for the peaceful settlement of disputes. Disagreements and conflicts of interest are inevitable. Interdependence does not require harmony. Our challenge is to use disagreement as a stimulus to seek responsible compromise and mutually acceptable solutions.

6 Thinking in planetary terms for the benefit of all human civilization, while defending and advancing the right of each nation to develop in its own way without causing harm to others.

The world community must learn to manage both the problems and the opportunities which grow out of our interdependence.

HOW SHOULD INTERDEPENDENCE BE MANAGED?

Scope, Kinds, and Levels of Management

It is first necessary to identify the international problems which meet these criteria: (1) all nations or many nations are affected; (2) interdependent management is both possible and in the long-range interest of the peoples of the affected nations; and (3) there are common interests, recognized as such by the national governments, or national interests which are at least potentially reconcilable if a good faith effort is made.

We believe that the international problems meeting these criteria include peace and security, arms limitation and disarmament, economic development, trade, international food problems, limited natural resources, population, environmental protection, human rights, international health protection, international transportation and communications, and the general improvement of international relations. This is not a complete list. Much study is needed to identify the problems for which interdependent management is necessary and possible.

These problems include some relatively non-controversial and technical fields where cooperative management is easily accepted and has been successfully established (such as international civil aviation, postal service, and health), and many difficult and complex problems.

At least three different methods or approaches are needed:

1 The fields of international interdependence should be studied and analyzed as a whole. These fields are interrelated. Action or inaction in any field will usually affect others.

7

2 It is also necessary to isolate specific problems and opportunities which are ripe for international action. These will be fields in which common national interests are already widely perceived, or in which conflicting national interests appear to be reconcilable. The U.N. system already has a good record in dealing with some of these problems. Each success in managing a specific problem, even if limited and non-controversial, will encourage and aid the world community in managing other fields. Although problems are interrelated, it is often necessary to manage specific problems separately. Most participants emphasize that it is easier to reach agreement if problems are not politicized and are not unnecessarily tied to other problems. Specific functional bodies should be strengthened, or new bodies created if necessary, to deal with specific international problems.

3 When a problem is serious but there is not yet enough international consensus to permit action, a process must be developed for limited management which will permit the world to live with the unresolved problem until we are able to solve it. Part of this process must be a continuing effort to find common ground which will permit cooperative action.

Management includes three distinct and separate functions: (1) determination of goals and broad policies; (2) planning or negotiation to reach specific decisions; and (3) execution of decisions. The second and third levels of management are often more difficult than the first. In the United Nations and elsewhere, there is an unfortunate tendency to concentrate on goals and broad policies while giving insufficient attention to the other two management functions.

Global, regional, subregional and national institutions all have important roles in managing interdependence. Both formal and ad hoc organizations are needed.

Both the public and private sectors of the world community must be involved. Non-governmental organizations are more flexible than public institutions; they should be given important and appropriate roles in managing interdependence.

National action to manage interdependence and to implement international agreements is essential. Each nation should create within its own government the structures and attitudes which will assure that information

Driss

Elianov

Ferguson

from international organizations is received and acted upon and that world interdependence and its consequences are responsibly considered when making national decisions.

The Nature of Decision-Making

In fields where agreement has been reached on policies, it is obviously necessary for the nations to delegate some decision-making powers, carefully defined and limited, to international organizations which are given specific responsibilities in managing interdependence. This has already been done in some fields.

Some participants believe that supra-national institutions, preferably within the U.N. system, are necessary for the effective management of world interdependence. These institutions would be granted (by the member states and their peoples) sufficient independent authority and power to accomplish their assigned responsibilities, and would have some degree of power to act even if some member states disagree with their decisions.

The participants do not agree on the necessity, desirability, or timing of such supra-national institutions. Most participants believe that there is no significant possibility of creating such supra-national institutions in the next several decades. Some participants emphasize that what now appears impossible may become both possible and essential within the next ten years.

This question is related to the question of national sovereignty. Some participants believe that sovereignty belongs to the people rather than to the state; that the people establish governments or organizations and delegate powers to them to manage certain problems; and that the people should now thus exercise their sovereignty in the world

Fernbach

Galindo-Pohl

Hoveyda

arena, by delegating specific and limited powers to supra-national organizations. Some participants believe that sovereignty is an attribute of the national state; that national sovereignty must be maintained and strengthened; and that nations can cooperate to solve problems without losing sovereignty. Some participants believe that national sovereignty is a relative concept and is to some extent an illusion; that the freedom of action of every nation, large or small, is sharply restricted by the actions of others; and that the real sovereignty of all nations is severely limited in today's world.

Whatever our view of sovereignty, we agree that the common interest of all nations and peoples urgently requires cooperative action to manage the problems and opportunities of interdependence. All nations must work together in their mutual interest to create and strengthen international institutions capable of managing international problems, with primary emphasis on reforming and strengthening the United Nations and other existing institutions.

Nations with widely differing political, social and economic systems can and must cooperate to solve common problems. National governments will better serve their peoples if they look outward, adopt a global ethic, and thoughtfully consider the relationship between national policies and the world community.

At least in the near future, the decision-making power will remain primarily in nation-states and their governments. This situation requires greater efforts to reach agreements which benefit all parties.

Participation in Decision-Making

We agree upon the principle that all nations affected by an international decision have the right to participate in the decision-making. We further agree that the decision-making process, including the voting system, in any international agency should be fair to all participating nations and should be credible and responsible. It is equally important that all nations perceive and accept the fairness, credibility, and responsibility of the process.

"Fairness" is a subjective concept, and national views differ on what is a fair decision-making process. Some participants believe that the voting system of the U.N. General Assembly, with one vote for each member state, should be the customary pattern for international organizations and that the concept of equality of nations requires equal voting power. Other participants believe that in most international bodies which manage interdependence, some kind of weighted voting should be used; that the one-nation-one-vote system does not reflect reality and is not credible to some of the nations whose support and contributions are needed; that some of the most effective world institutions have been those, such as the World Bank, which use weighted voting; and that many developed nations will not and probably should not delegate any substantial authority to an international body in which each nation has one vote. Some participants believe that the requirement of fairness can be satisfied if all nations have an assured right to participate in the decision-making process, and that "equality" should mean an equal opportunity for all to participate rather than equal voting strength for each nation.

Some participants suggest that one possible compromise is to vary the decision-making process and voting arrangements according to the nature of the organization and according to which of the three management functions is involved (determining goals and broad policies, negotiating and planning, or execution). For example, some participants who believe weighted voting is necessary in

specialized agencies agree that one vote per member state is inevitable and perhaps necessary in the U.N. General Assembly.

In the present world situation, major decisions still require the consent of all or nearly all of the affected nations. This fact requires emphasis on seeking mutual interests, and on constructive bargaining and negotiations with the goal of responsible consensus.

We call attention to the statement of the Ninth Conference on the United Nations of the Next Decade (1974) on "Decision-Making Processes of the United Nations."*

The United Nations and the Management of Interdependence

The U.N. system has a vital but not exclusive role in the management of global interdependence. We strongly support the good work of the United Nations in many specialized fields. However, we are deeply concerned with the need to strengthen the United Nations.

It is essential that the United Nations be used, strengthened, and made more effective. We believe that the following proposals, which we have discussed briefly, should be carefully considered along with many others:

1 A clear division of work among the various U.N. organs and agencies is needed. There is now a great deal of overlapping and inefficiency which should be eliminated. Wherever problems of interdependence require management by the United Nations, the three separate functions of management (setting goals and broad policies, negotiating and planning to reach decisions, and executing decisions) should be recognized and should be separated. In most situations, no one U.N. body should attempt to exercise all three functions. When the General Assembly adopts goals or policies, it should clearly state what agency shall have the responsibility and the authority for each of the other two management functions. Too much of the total effort of the United Nations is now devoted to goals and resolutions, with too little attention to implementing the goals already adopted.

* See page 31.

IIM Jaipal

2 Most participants recommend that controversial political issues should customarily be confined to the General Assembly and should not be raised in the various specialized agencies. We recognize the importance of many of these issues and the necessity of seeking constructive solutions, but the United Nations will work more effectively if these issues are confined to the proper forum.

3 A greater effort by all nations to seek consensus within the General Assembly would be constructive. The General Assembly must deal with many controversial issues, and the right of every member state to be heard in the General Assembly is important. However, each nation can help to make the General Assembly more effective by avoiding polemics and propaganda statements and by making an earnest effort to reach consensus before voting.

4 The General Assembly, its committees, and some other U.N. agencies should adopt shorter agendas to permit concentrated, in-depth work on a few matters during any one session. Likewise, smaller and more specialized meetings may sometimes accomplish more than large and general meetings.

5 The need for better coordination of U.N. activities grows increasingly urgent. Coordination of the execution and implementation of adopted policies is especially needed.

6 Better evaluation of U.N. bodies and their performance is needed. This should include some effective system to assure regular, periodic evaluation; to bring the results of evaluation to the attention of the appropriate U.N. bodies; and to assure that necessary action is taken to correct defects revealed by the evaluation.

7 Ways must be found to increase the efficiency of the U.N. staff, including the Secretariat. If the United Nations is to play a greater role in managing interdependence, its tendencies toward bureaucratic inefficiency must be halted and reversed. The need for different kinds of persons to carry out the three functions of management should be kept in mind. The skills required for setting goals, negotiating and planning, and execution are quite different. Specialists are essential but are usually not good managers.

8 The United Nations needs better systems for monitoring the major fields of global interdependence and providing information to enable international organizations and national governments to take a longer-range view. We commend the monitoring programs already begun in such fields as food supplies and the environment.

9 Better methods for peaceful settlement of international disputes, and better use of existing methods, are necessary. Increased use of the International Court of Justice and other agencies is desirable.

10 The universality of membership and participation in the United Nations should be maintained and made more complete.

The following two case studies include other suggestions for increasing the effectiveness of the United Nations.

We call attention to the statements of the last three Conferences on the United Nations of the Next Decade (Peace and Security: New Opportunities [1973], Decision-Making Processes of the United Nations [1974], and Coordination of the Economic and Social Activities of the United Nations [1975]), all of which contain specific suggestions for strengthening the United Nations.*

CASE STUDY I: INTERDEPENDENCE AND THE WORLD ECONOMIC ORDER

The Present World Economic Order

The world economic order is complex, constantly changing, and difficult to define. It includes all business, trade, investment, development, and financial transactions which cross national boundaries. It includes many kinds of entities and widely differing national and regional systems.

* See page 31.

The present world economic order includes at least the following systems: the international monetary system; the international trade system and international division of labor; international transportation and communications; flows of private capital, including those provided by transnational enterprises and the private capital markets; multilateral aid; bilateral aid; the development banking system; and other systems of economic, technical, and scientific cooperation.

The growing interdependence of nations within this world economic order, and its great importance to all people, are obvious.

Possible Changes in the World Economic Order

We differ in our views of the present world economic order. Some participants believe that the present system is largely a relic of the colonial period, or that its partial reliance on the free market system is erroneous and should be replaced by central planning, or both. Other participants believe that the present system has enabled many nations to progress from poverty to generally high levels of material prosperity; that this system, with responsible changes, can enable other nations to do the same; and that we should be cautious in changing a system which has served much of the world well. Differing national social and economic systems and their differing views of the relative importance and value of free market systems, private versus public decisions, and governmental planning, necessarily affect views of the world economy.

However, most participants agree that significant changes in the world economic order are desirable and necessary, and that these changes will require the participation and voluntary consent of the affected nations.

Both the developed and the developing nations recognize problems under the present system. The developing nations are concerned with such problems as sources of capital and development funds, debt relief, commodity prices, trade preferences, transfer of technology, and greater participation in decision-making. The

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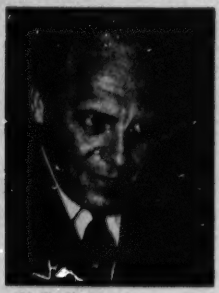

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developed nations are concerned with the monetary system, international inflation, sources of raw materials, world trade, protection of investments, and other problems.

(We use the terms "developed" and "developing" nations because these appear to be the best available descriptive terms which do not have divisive connotations. However, we recognize the vast differences within each group of nations, including those between socialist and capitalist countries. We emphasize the need to avoid stereotyping, to examine carefully the situation and problems of each nation and group of nations, and to take into account the peculiarities of different socio-economic systems.)

Recent U.N. meetings have identified several areas in which there is general agreement that changes should be made in the world economic order. These changes are sometimes grouped under the name of a "new international economic order." Some participants believe this description is appropriate and generally accepted. Other participants question both the implications of this description and the advisability of using it.

We agree that there are a number of areas in which constructive changes in the world economic order may be both desirable and possible. We believe that these areas include some or all of the following:

1) The development process, and sources of capital and funds for development.
2) The management of international debt, including debt relief.
3) The international monetary system.

4) International trade, including the continued reduction of trade barriers, and establishing trade preferences or other measures to assist the industrialization of developing countries.
5) World commodity markets, levels of prices, and price stabilization.
6) Transnational enterprises and private capital in general, and their rights and responsibilities with respect to host countries.
7) Ways to avoid sudden unilateral economic actions which adversely affect other nations.
8) The decision-making process for international economic matters, and the desire of developing nations for greater participation in decision-making.

This is not a complete list. These problems vary in importance, urgency, possibility of consensus, and readiness for negotiations.

Our discussion has particularly focused on the development problem of the developing countries, and this discussion has been especially constructive. Participants from developed countries have emphasized the need for their own countries to make a greater effort in support of development. Participants from developing countries have emphasized the urgency of viable economic growth within their nations. They have clearly stated their objective to improve their peoples' standard of living and education. They have emphasized that while help from the developed nations is essential, they do not ask the developed nations to reduce their standard of living; do not seek to redistribute the world's wealth; and do not believe it is feasible to close the "gap" between nations with low and high per capita incomes. Rather, as one participant stated, the goal is to close the gap between poverty and a decent life, by achieving a steady increase in per capita income.

We all agree that it is in the strong mutual interest of both developed and developing nations to help achieve this goal. There are many good reasons why sound development and progress in the developing nations will also benefit the developed nations. The real question is how we can help people move ahead, and thus help all nations and their peoples.

Implementation of Changes

The will to achieve needed change is more important than the procedure or mechanism.

Several areas of desirable change have been identified, and this is a necessary first step. But substantial change can come only with the voluntary consent of all affected nations. Good faith negotiations and willingness to cooperate in the common interest are now needed.

As suggested above, we believe it may now be useful to set priorities; select those problems which are both important and ripe for solutions; agree on suitable forums; and begin serious negotiations. A small body which fairly represents the various interests is usually more effective than a large body as a negotiating forum for reaching practical agreements.

All groups of developed and developing nations need to state their priorities clearly, and need the assurance that their problems are understood.

Negotiations are more likely to succeed if all parties use a positive approach which emphasizes mutual self-interest. Agreement is likely only if all parties see substantial benefit for themselves as well as for others. Both realities and perceptions are important, and either may block agreement. It is important for all parties to choose language carefully and to avoid creating perceptions which frighten others or raise false expectations.

In negotiating on the vital problem of development, we recommend the same approach which this conference has taken — emphasizing the mutual interest of all nations in helping the developing nations to achieve steady progress for their people, while avoiding talk of demands, claims, gaps, or redistributing wealth. In turn, all developed nations should be prepared to respond promptly and favorably to reasonable proposals from the developing nations.

There are already some success stories, and some failures, in development and cooperation for development. Both successes and failures should be carefully studied to determine the reasons. More research on this subject is necessary. We are more likely to make constructive changes in the world economy if we understand what works, what does not work, and why.

Mojsov

Sheldon

Sternberg

We again emphasize the need to strengthen the United Nations and other international organizations. The United Nations has a credibility problem, and this problem cannot be overcome unless the United Nations is made more effective in managing those duties which have already been given to it. We call attention to the statement of the Tenth Conference on the United Nations of the Next Decade (1975) on "Coordination of the Economic and Social Activities of the United Nations."*

Financing Development and Other International Activities

The shortage of capital for development is critical. A recent World Bank analysis shows that a major increase in total resources is needed to achieve even minimal rates of development in most developing nations.

It is necessary to determine global priorities for development, the funds needed, and possible sources of funds.

There are at least four possible sources of capital for development, and all are needed: (1) internal capital formation and savings; (2) governmental funds, raised by taxes in the contributing nations, and used for bilateral or multilateral aid; (3) private capital, including transnational enterprises and the capital markets; (4) new sources of revenue, collected or administered through the U.N. system, to the extent that these can be achieved.

In the long run most nations will have to generate most of their capital from internal sources, and many developing nations are already making strong efforts to do so. Their

* See page 31.

Strasser

Von Hassell

ability to do so is related to population policies, internal social and economic conditions, and levels of spending for armaments.

We call upon all nations, particularly the developed countries, to honor the commitments they have already made to provide governmental funds for development loans and grants. This is important for both financial and psychological reasons.

The large surpluses of some of the oil-producing nations should be another source of development funds. Careful mutual planning is needed for the wise investment and use of a reasonable part of these funds in developing countries.

We welcome the principle that all nations set aside for development a percentage of their savings resulting from any future arms reduction agreement.

In most developing nations, some part of the needed capital will have to come from external private sources. Effective mutual assurances are needed regarding private capital generally and transnational enterprises specifically. The host country is entitled to protection against domination or unfair interference by transnational enterprises. These enterprises and their investors are entitled to reasonable protection against arbitrary actions, including agreed procedures for international adjudication of disputes regarding compensation for nationalized property. Some system of mutual assurances appears to be in the common interest.

Most participants believe that there is a need for international contributions from agreed independent sources for financing the management of interdependence, including but not limited to development; and that the United Nations seriously needs dependable revenue sources in addition to national contributions. Some participants disagree.

Some beginnings have already been made. One example is the use for development of the proceeds of gold sales by the International Monetary Fund. There is hope that final agreements on the international oceans and seabed will provide automatic sources of revenue for development or the United Nations or both.

International taxes are apparently not acceptable. However, most participants believe that various kinds of reasonable service fees or surcharges may be acceptable. Fees or surcharges related to international commodity agreements or to various aspects of international trade, transportation, or communications, are among the possibilities. A surcharge on international armaments sales has also been suggested.

UNICEF already receives some funds from sales of various items and from individual contributions. Some participants suggest an international lottery as a source of funds for the United Nations or for development.

Most participants, while not necessarily supporting these specific suggestions, believe that these and many others should be carefully considered. A reliable additional source of funds would be extremely helpful to the United Nations and to the development process. Of course, any such arrangements would have to be negotiated and would require the consent of all participating nations.

CASE STUDY II: INTERDEPENDENCE, ARMS LIMITATION, AND DISARMAMENT

We call for a rededication of the nations of the world to arms limitation and disarmament, as an integral part of interdependence. In doing so we are mindful of the words of the Preamble of the Charter of the United Nations: "We, the peoples of the United Nations, determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war . . ." and of Article 11 which vests in the General Assembly the right to consider and make recommendations regarding "the principles governing disarmament and the regulation of armaments. . . ."

Furthermore, progress toward arms limitation and disarmament could free substantial funds for development.

Arms Limitation, Disarmament, and International Security

There is a definite linkage between the development of an effective system of international security for all nations and progress towards arms limitation and disarmament. Some hold the clear opinion that the lack of progress of post-World War II arms limitation and disarmament efforts is due to the failure to develop a U.N. system of international security. When nations cannot rely upon the United Nations to keep the peace, reliance upon armaments is understandable although undesirable.

We all believe that the development of an effective U.N. peace force under Chapter VII of the Charter is highly desirable and to be greatly encouraged. Such a force, and its fair and impartial use, would give great stimulation to new and meaningful efforts for arms limitation and disarmament, even as it promoted international security. We also recognize the importance of methods for the peaceful settlement of disputes. The statement of the Eighth Conference on the United Nations of the Next Decade (1973)* contains many suggestions on peacekeeping and peaceful settlement.

* See page 31.

However, we underscore the view that new and meaningful arms limitation and disarmament measures need not await the desired establishment of an international security system. We believe there are many significant measures that can be taken in bilateral, regional, and multilateral forums, and in the context of developing detente.

Specific Arms Limitation and Disarmament Measures

We call for a maximum effort by all nations to achieve new measures of arms limitation and disarmament.

Of great importance is early completion of a SALT II agreement by the United States and the Soviet Union. It is hoped that such an agreement could both set new quantitative limits on nuclear weapons, and institute qualitative restrictions as well. It is suggested that both nations should keep the goal of bilateral reduction of military armaments clearly in mind. Some participants are of the opinion that further meaningful progress in arms limitation and disarmament (particularly in regard to non-proliferation) must await new important steps by the United States and the Soviet Union, and also by other nuclear weapon states. Other participants consider it important that all countries, irrespective of size, show restraint in their armaments and strive to set positive examples in the field of arms limitation and disarmament.

Other measures which various participants have suggested for consideration include: (1) a fully comprehensive test ban agreement; (2) completion of a convention on the prohibition of military or any other hostile use of environmental modification techniques, as has been proposed by the United States and the Soviet Union to the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament; (3) a percentage reduction in military budgets or armaments or both; (4) implementation of onsite inspection procedures whenever appropriate, and refinement and systemization of verification methods; (5) complete prohibition of chemical

warfare; (6) a ban on the development and production of new types and systems of mass destruction weapons; (7) early and positive conclusion of the negotiations on arms and force reductions in central Europe; (8) a convention prohibiting the use of force, including the use of nuclear weapons, to settle international disputes; and (9) other steps to strengthen and deepen international detente.

Mechanisms for Negotiating Arms Limitation and Disarmament

We support continued study, evaluation, and implementation of the mechanisms for negotiating arms limitation and disarmament.

World Disarmament Conference (WDC). Most participants support the continuing efforts to convene a U.N. sponsored World Disarmament Conference. The lack of progress of the Ad Hoc Committee on the WDC created by the 28th General Assembly is attributed mainly to the non-participation of two nuclear weapon states, but also to a lack of agreement on the objectives of a WDC. Some participants believe that a WDC offers the best possibility for revitalizing U.N. efforts in the field of arms limitation and disarmament. It is maintained that a WDC would have the advantage of participation by all states, and that it could provide strong support for existing disarmament mechanisms. Other efforts, such as a Special Session on disarmament or a revitalized Disarmament Commission, might properly be considered as stepping stones toward a WDC. Some participants, while not flatly opposing a WDC, express caution as to the need for adequate preparation and some assurance that the final outcome of such a conference would not prejudice the overall goals of disarmament.

Special Session of the General Assembly on Disarmament. The Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, meeting in Lima in August 1975, suggested the possibility of hosting a Special Session of the General Assembly on disarmament. Most participants believe that such a session could serve to dramatize problems of disarmament and formulate overall disarmament goals in view of the inability of U.N. members

D. M. Stanley

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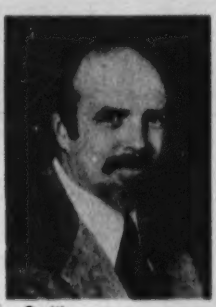

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to agree to the creation of a preparatory commission for a World Disarmament Conference. It would probably have the distinct advantage of including all nuclear weapon states, something lacking in other ongoing forums (with the exception of the First Committee of the General Assembly). However, so large a forum might provide very limited opportunities for meaningful negotiations by the most militarily significant nations.

On balance most participants believe a Special Session on disarmament to be a desirable undertaking if it is not viewed as a substitute for a WDC (which should be the long-term goal). To enhance ease of operation and overall guidance of a Special Session, a smaller subsidiary committee should be formed. For the success of a Special Session there should be careful and complete preparation by the U.N. Secretariat and by member states. Some participants are concerned that a Special Session might detract attention from efforts aimed at the convening of a WDC.

Conference of the Committee on Disarmament (CCD). The CCD is the most important multilateral disarmament forum at present. The CCD has produced a number of significant agreements in the past, but current progress is limited.

Most participants doubt the CCD's ability to exercise an active leadership role in formulating important arms limitation and disarmament agreements in the future,

25

because of obstacles such as lack of participation by two nuclear weapon states, composition of its membership, limitation of the chairmanship to the United States and the Soviet Union and slowness of the general pattern of work.

Other participants, however, emphasize that the CCD is regaining earlier vitality, and point to the recent U.S.-Soviet draft conventions on environmental modification techniques, and their agreement to undertake the initiative in the CCD with regard to chemical warfare, as evidence of new progress. All participants believe that the CCD should not be disbanded until and unless a better negotiating mechanism is constituted.

U.N Disarmament Commission. There are varying opinions as to the desirability of revitalizing the U.N. Disarmament Commission. Although the Commission was established in 1952 and enlarged to a committee of the whole in 1959, it has not convened since 1965. Some participants believe it is desirable to reconvene the Commission as a committee of the whole (with a working subcommittee possibly serving as a negotiating body). Most participants, however, doubt the wisdom of this, believing that so large a unit would prove cumbersome and non-productive.

The basic issues of disarmament will not be solved simply by the creation of new mechanisms. However, inadequate mechanisms can severely hamper disarmament negotiations. Most participants are of the opinion that, weighed by their results, current mechanisms are not satisfactory. They believe there must be continued reform of existing mechanisms and, where necessary, creation of new units. They recognize the value of a small negotiating body, with adequate balance and reflecting current power configurations, capable of in-depth consideration of specific arms limitation and disarmament arrangements. Equally important is a larger forum which can consider arms limitation and disarmament strategy and offer broad guidance. Most participants also emphasize that if existing forums are perceived by some nations as undesirable (for whatever reasons), efforts should shift to different existing forums or new forums should be created. The essential points are flexibility and perseverance in the pursuit of arms limitation and disarmament negotiations.

Procedural Reforms

We note several problem areas of a procedural nature involving U.N. work in the field of arms limitation and disarmament. These include the need for improved methods of work for the First Committee of the General Assembly in disarmament items; the need for both the availability and better dissemination of disarmament information to member nations by the U.N. Secretariat; and the relationship between the General Assembly and other U.N. bodies in the field of disarmament.

We view with special interest certain items on which there appears to be consensus within the U.N. Ad Hoc Committee to Review the Role of the United Nations in the Field of Disarmament, established by the 30th General Assembly. These include the need to restrict disarmament items appearing on the agenda of the First Committee (sometimes numbering as high as 22) by setting clear priorities and limiting discussion to basic and important items. We believe that the First Committee might also more effectively streamline its work if its chairman, after due consultation, prepared an advance agenda of items for consideration.

We endorse an enhancement of the responsibilities of the Secretariat in this field, including a modest increase in personnel. It is also desirable for the Secretariat to increase its capability to provide assistance for in-depth studies of important new arms limitation and disarmament initiatives and to supply more information as needed by member states. Special groups of arms limitation and disarmament experts, appointed by governments, should be formed to undertake fair and impartial research in this field. Finally, we support further study and review of the appropriate relationship between the U.N. General Assembly and existing multilateral negotiating mechanisms in the field of arms limitation and disarmament, as well as those that may be organized in the future.

Regional Initiatives

We stress the continued and growing importance of regional initiatives for arms limitation and disarmament agreements. However, regional endeavors are not a substitute for necessary bilateral and global efforts.

Regional initiatives may take many forms, including nuclear-weapon-free zones, zones of peace, regional agreements for control of conventional weapons, and others. To enjoy success they must have tangible support by militarily significant nations within the region, important external nations having interests within the region, and nuclear weapon states. We recognize distinctions and the fact that political conditions make some areas more ripe than others for such initiatives. The critical element to success is the will of the nations within the regions and their capacity to produce leadership willing to pursue cooperative efforts with their regional neighbors.

We urge that renewed attention be given to nuclear-weapon-free zone agreements. The Latin American agreement (Treaty of Tlatelolco) provides an important model, aspects of which may be emulated in other regions. (Some participants believe that the Tlatelolco Treaty does not ensure the non-nuclear status of the participating states.) Several possibilities exist for agreements in other areas; these have been the subject of General Assembly resolutions and debate.

Other variations of regional agreements may have specific applications in certain areas. These include the concept of an Indian Ocean zone of peace which calls for abstention and respect by extra-zonal nations.

Some participants stress the urgent need for new initiatives to control the sale of coventional weapons, which may take the form of regional agreements. Some participants state that however desirable it may be for arms producers to restrict sales, such efforts will enjoy limited success without the cooperation of buyers. Cooperative regional arrangements to limit or prohibit purchasing of conventional weapons could be an important contribution to peace and security.

Although regional agreements will result primarily from indigenous efforts, the United Nations can focus global attention and support. The General Assembly can, under appropriate circumstances and bearing in mind political factors, continue to adopt carefully conceived resolutions of support. The U.N. Secretariat can offer important consultative and informational support to ongoing regional negotiations.

The Need for New Momentum Toward Disarmament

It is of great importance that nations recognize general and complete disarmament as their ultimate long-range objective. We do not believe this to be realistically attainable in the near future, but it is indeed an essential goal for the United Nations of the next decade.

In order to advance toward general and complete disarmament, we underscore the importance of perseverance and renewed dedication by nations, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and individuals. It is desirable to set generally agreed international goals, as has been attempted by the international community in the field of development. Such international targets for disarmament could do much to focus world attention upon actions necessary at the national level.

Groups of nations can lead by their own good example. They can work out important initiatives among themselves, and can then seek international respect and support for these initiatives.

We also stress the importance of NGOs in working toward the goal of disarmament. Through sponsorship of conferences, NGOs can stimulate new thinking among experts and national and international leaders and can bring new ideas to opinion makers and information disseminators. NGOs can also perform an important role by more frequent and stronger representation in U.N. conferences. At such gatherings NGOs can seek to stimulate the further development of appropriate international disarmament mechanisms and can work for enhanced international awareness of disarmament issues.

Additional high level groups of international experts should be organized to undertake an expanded role in identifying underlying causes of the arms race, surveying the extent of armaments, and advancing specific proposals for international agreements.

Genuine progress toward disarmament requires a heightened awareness of this problem among the people of the world. Disarmament must be dramatized to the public, preferably through education rather than a catastrophic act

of accidental or deliberate violence. To build effective public opinion, individual commitment and leadership are necessary — especially at the national level, as disarmament must be pursued by means of national programs, priorities, and goals.

CONCLUSION

The great task of managing global interdependence requires more effective international organizations and a greater determination to cooperate. It is imperative that we maintain and strengthen the primary international organization which we now have — the United Nations. We recognize with regret that there has been a significant recent decline in support for the United Nations within some nations.

The United Nations needs more support from its member nations and their peoples. National governments have an obligation to bring international problems to the United Nations, to place the United Nations higher on their priority lists, and to build closer ties with the United Nations into their national governmental structures. Concerned citizens and nongovernmental organizations have a special duty and opportunity to point out the many real achievements of the United Nations and the need to make it more effective.

On the other hand, the United Nations must earn support by successful management of those problems for which it has been given sufficient management authority. It is essential that the United Nations perform in a way that builds credibility and respect. The United Nations' problems arise largely from the nature of the action or inaction within itself, including the conduct of its member states. The United Nations, which has been successful in a number of important ways, needs another success — or several — in the near future.

Each human being can do something toward building global awareness and support for a stronger United Nations. One person can do even more by working with others or working through citizens' organizations.

Each of us should do what he or she can do, because this interdependent planet is the only one we have.

Almost two hundred years ago Benjamin Franklin said of thirteen newly independent American states which were then beginning to realize their interdependence, "Unless we all hang together we will all hang separately." During this conference one participant observed, "Either we sink together or we float together."

* The following reports, referred to in the Conference Statement, are available, free of charge, from The Stanley Foundation:

"Peace and Security: New Opportunities" Report of the Eighth Conference on the United Nations of the Next Decade, 1973.

"Decision-Making Processes of the United Nations" Report of the Ninth Conference on the United Nations of the Next Decade, 1974.

"Coordination of the Economic and Social Activities of the United Nations" Report of the Tenth Conference on the United Nations of the Next Decade, 1975.

Chairman's Statement

By C. Maxwell Stanley

OPENING REMARKS (EXCERPTS)

The term "interdependence" as applied to international relations is of comparatively recent vintage. Despite confusion about its meaning, interdependence is well on its way to becoming as common a rallying cry in international circles as was independence in the 1950s and 1960s. The pace of technological, economic, social and political change makes our discussion of interdependence timely and strategic. The management of interdependence is required to prevent a collision course with national independence.

What is interdependence? Webster's dictionary defines interdependence as mutual dependence, a definition compatible with the wave of the future most scholars of world affairs envision. Can this mutual dependence mesh with the dominant political movement of the last three decades: the vigorous quest for national independence? People have sought and, when necessary, fought to break the bonds of external domination. Each of the 70 new nations, born in recent times, is fiercely proud and protective of independence, just as older nations are.

Mutual Dependence

We must now, I believe, as the colonial chapter of world history nears an end, recognize and deal with the highly dependent nature of the nation-states comprising the world community. The distinction for modern times is that current and future dependence is mutual. Mutuality or reciprocity is the all important factor that should permit nations to recognize and deal with the responsibilities of interdependence.

Dealing intelligently with interdependence requires a clear understanding of several types of dependency. One type, the dependence of a colony upon a colonial power involving little or no mutuality is largely extinct, excepting only a few frustrating situations, due to the collapse of Western colonialism. It need not attract our attention.

A common type of dependence has existed since trade and commerce originated centuries ago. Producers of raw materials, commodities and manufactured goods have depended upon external markets; countries deficient in natural resources, food or consumer goods have depended upon imports. This type of economic dependence has enlarged greatly as international trade has grown, as more nations have industrialized and as more countries have found domestic resources inadequate. Until recent years, nation-states have had little direct involvement in such economic dependency. Business relations, excluding those of socialist states, have been carried on in the private sector between importers, exporters, producers and manufacturers with governments playing only a secondary role. But in the last several decades governments, together with regional and international organizations, have become more involved due to the inadequacies of the world economic order, the proliferation of nations and the enlargement of people's needs. This type of economic dependence, possessing a high degree of mutuality, meets the definition of interdependence.

The maintenance of peace and security is the third area wherein nation-states have mutual dependency. Peace and security have historically been pursued in cooperation with others: international military treaties, alliances and power balances being accepted and trusted means of assuring security. Today's nuclear and conventional weapons possess the power to obliterate cities, kill hundreds of millions of people and perhaps endanger the survival of the human race. Maintaining peace and security, no longer achieveable through military preparedness, alliances and power balances, has become an appropriate task for the world community, one that requires a high degree of cooperation. Clearly nation-states are highly dependent upon one another as they seek to end the arms race, reduce armaments and eliminate war.

A further area of mutual dependence relates to the decision-making process required to solve critical global issues such as: (1) maintaining peace and security; (2) accelerating economic and social development; (3) achieving a

sound economic order; (4) managing resource/population imbalances; (5) protecting and enhancing the environment; and (6) expanding human rights. Mutual dependence regarding decision-making has become a most fundamental characteristic of world affairs. I like the way this idea was stated at our Ninth Conference:

> In endeavoring to harmonize their views, Member Nations must recognize that there is a constellation of issues of varying importance to different Members. Harmonization will be achieved when it is recognized that few, if any, of these issues can be resolved independently of the others. Cooperation coupled with conscientious effort toward mutual understanding and accommodation between all nations is essential.

Response

That nation-states are exceedingly slow in responding to the demands of interdependence is quite evident. The nuclear deterrent system remains a peace of mutual terror. The arms race continues and expands absorbing vast resources critically needed for more constructive uses. The threat and use of violence and force is common. Development lags behind even modest objectives. Financial, technological and managerial resources dedicated to developing nations are grossly inadequate. Patchwork remedies are substituted for genuine reform in the world economic order. Population growth zooms upward as known supplies of critical resources dwindle. Environmental protection is under-financed and underrated. Human rights are more often recognized by violation than by improved conditions.

Today interdependence is more sensed than understood, even though a fragile response is emerging. More and more nation-states recognize and are frustrated by their inability to solve problems independently. The United Nations and a number of regional organizations and institutions have been created to advance international cooperation. Nations meet, talk and occasionally act effectively even though protection of national sovereignty remains a primary consideration. Numerous international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) together with multinational business enterprises, are contributing to our meager knowledge of the demands of interdependence. While accomplishments seem small in contrast to the urgent demands of the day, they are large

when compared to past centuries of failure to muster meaningful international cooperation. Nevertheless, the most basic ingredients of managing global interdependence are either partially or wholly absent in the world community today. Current response to growing interdependence is simply not enough.

Recognition

I believe that efforts to manage interdependence and to head off serious global threats will continue to defy solution until nations substitute cooperation for confrontation and both construct and use adequate global and regional organizations. This belief is consistent with the analysis of astute observers of world affairs including many scholars, diplomats and political leaders. Managing interdependence calls for the building of a viable and workable world order. While today's U.N. system and various regional organizations serve useful purposes, stronger and more effective mechanisms must be activated either by reforming and combining existing institutions or establishing new ones. The institutions and organizations of the future must be more extra-national or supra-national in character and must possess sufficient authority and power to accomplish assigned responsibilities. Nation-states must develop acceptable patterns to restrain the use of national sovereignty, to delegate agreed-upon authority and power to extra-national organizations and, at the same time, to protect legitimate national independence. Hopefully the U.N. system can serve as a primitive bridge between the current nation-state political system and some more effective political order of the future.

One prerequisite to progress toward a viable world order is recognition by national leaders that action is necessary to cope with mutual deficiencies — positive, innovative action. Without such recognition, nations will continue to muddle along endeavoring to develop sufficient consensus and cooperation to meet the crises of the hour.

Another attitudinal prerequisite is a determination to substitute rational discussion and serious negotiation for the polemic dialogue too often focused today upon important but controversial issues. Differences of interests and opinions will continue and confrontation will occur in international forums. Managing interdependence, however, requires a climate where differences can be examined on their merits and confrontations used to reach compromise.

One other attitudinal prerequisite is world community recognition that the time is now. The desired changes and improvements in mechanisms and institutions to manage interdependence are unlikely to evolve gradually. Without precipitous and bold action, global problems will remain unsolved as the world community sinks further in the morass of bickering controversy over actual or preceived near-term interests. A sense of urgency is needed.

Responsibility

The responsibility for perfecting world and regional organization adequate to manage interdependence rests squarely upon the prime actors on the international stage — nation-states. Only nation-states, through treaties and conventions, have the power to act. International and national NGOs, as well as public opinion, have persuasive and supportive roles but they cannot take decisions. Such is the reality of today's international political system, like it or not.

Today's frightening dilemma is that nation-states, while absolute in their monopoly of power, have proven themselves obsolete in their ability to cooperatively manage interdependence. They have clearly demonstrated their capacity to make war, but have failed miserably to maintain universal peace. They precipitate economic crises but are unable to manage the world economy. They pass resolutions but do not implement them. They criticize and castigate one another but do not sustain sufficient ongoing cooperation to correct or change anything.

Controversy blocks meaningful cooperation. Most controversies between nations arise from self-serving appraisals of short-term interests regarding economic, social, political and military matters. Others are the result of basic ideological, cultural or religious differences intensified by prejudices and attitudes arising from tragic and frustrating historical experience. Can nations rise above their actual and preceived conflicts of interest to manage the global problems of an interdependent world?

Independence Day — 1976

I will yield, in conclusion, to an overpowering temptation to inject a U.S. Bicentennial flavor into my remarks. You would not expect me to do otherwise, meeting as we are near Monticello, the home of Thomas Jefferson —

still referred to here as Mr. Jefferson — the drafter of the Declaration of Independence. This document, adopted on July 4, 1776, was an inspiration to the thirteen American colonies as they fought a long and tedious war in search of independence. The Declaration of Independence has had widespread impact and inspiration for many colonies in Africa, Asia and Latin America as they have struggled to throw off external rule and gain political independence. How sad it is that many U.S. citizens have forgotten how radical and determined their forefathers were.

But the thirteen newly independent American states soon found that independence was not enough. They shared mutual dependence; their political and economic fortunes were interlinked. As thirteen separate and truly independent sovereign states, they lacked the capacity to manage their economic and trade problems and to maintain peace and security. Indeed, they began to quarrel among themselves and erect barriers to trade with one another. Delegates to the Continental Congress periodically reported on the inability of that body to resolve differences. Frustrations grew, debate flourished, resolutions were adopted and recommendations made, but the Congress lacked the authority and power to assure action.

Fortunately, twelve years after the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, a significant event changed the course of history. A convention, cautiously endorsed by the Continental Congress, met in Philadelphia to deal with all matters "necessary to render the Constitution of the Federal Government adequate to the exigencies of the Union." Under the wise and innovative leadership of Washington, Franklin, Madison and Hamilton, the beleaguered American states faced up to the fact that more than independence was required to assure a viable society. A Constitutional Convention began in May, 1787, to draft a Constitution for the United States. This document, approved in 1788 by the delegates of politically independent entities, acknowledged the interdependence of the states and established institutions to manage it. Despite bitter debate, the states, one by one, ratified the document and four years later the interdependent United States of America was born.

The numerous parallels between the current world situation and colonial America are obvious. There are differences today, of course, but they do not overshadow the urgency of managing global interdependence. This is not to propose that the formula devised in Philadelphia in 1788 is the appropriate pattern for the world, but there is a lesson to

be learned from the period of U.S. history between 1776 and 1788. The lesson is a simple one. Achievement of national independence, albeit an essential, meaningful and heady step, is not enough. Interdependence, too, must be faced. Unfortunately, too few peoples throughout the world are ready to begin this struggle.

Now that universal independence is close at hand, nation-states are challenged to recognize interdependence. We must find a way to pool national sovereignty and deal with shared and inescapable problems. Vision and wisdom, even the radical, are called for to develop mechanisms for managing global interdependence while maintaining national independence. No greater challenge has ever faced the human race. May our deliberations here contribute to a better understanding of this challenge.

OBSERVATIONS*

As Chairman of the conference, I had a unique opportunity to sense certain attitudes and emphases not fully expressed in the Conference Statement. I share these Observations in the belief that they augment the Conference Statement by calling attention to important points.

Interdependence of Problems

Participants did sense the numerous interlinkages between peace and security, economic and social development, world economic order, resource/population balance, environmental enhancement and human rights. But although we discussed the mutual dependency of nations and groups of nations at length, the interdependence of global problems was not adequately emphasized. So interdependent are these critical issues that none can be managed independently of the others. Only a broadly based cooperative approach is likely to solve them; compartmentalization will not work.

Decision-Making

Our conference discussions once again emphasized the crucial importance of the decision-making processes in international organizations. Too many decisions now taken by the U. N. General Assembly and other organizations are not implemented because they lack the support of certain nations or groups of nations. Any decision-making process

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* *These Observations prepared by the Chairman following the conference touch upon points pertinent to the United Nations of the Next Decade. They go beyond the Conference Statement, and while focused upon matters discussed at Charlottesville, relate in some instances to prior Conferences on the United Nations of the Next Decade.*

must maintain credibility in the view of the nations most affected by its operation. Decision-making processes may be balanced between varied interests in a number of ways including the allotment of membership in the decision-making body by interest groups, weighted voting or the requirement of larger majorities on certain key issues. Improvement of U. N. decision-making processes remains a difficult challenge: rapid progress is essential to the vitality and effectiveness of the world organization.

Arms Limitation and Disarmament

The widely shared frustration and concern about current efforts to check the arms race and start the process of arms reduction was stronger than the Conference Statement was able to indicate. The responsibility for inadequate progress was assessed to rest heavily upon the Soviet Union and the United States. Nearly all participants emphasized the need to negotiate new SALT agreements limiting, if not reducing, nuclear armaments. The need to create new multilateral mechanisms for dealing with arms limitation was also emphasized. The forum for progress, whether a Special Session of the General Assembly or a World Disarmament Conference, appeared to be less important than the need for early action.

The Management Process

As an engineer and businessman from the private sector, I am always alert to the art of management. Hence I was gratified to hear diplomats and political scientists stress the importance of management procedures. Too often political bodies assume that once they have adopted a policy, it will be automatically implemented. Nothing is further from the truth. Policy formulation is only the first step. Unless it is followed by detailed planning, the policy is apt to languish without implementation or fail due to poor implementation. Planning must deal with the many facets of the proposed program or activity and lead to decisions about the delegation of responsibility to an existing or new organization. Execution, the third step, requires an organization with sound structure and skilled managers. Grand ideas are often neglected because they got too little attention beyond the policy formulation stage.

Financing Interdependence

There were interesting reactions to the suggestion that new and independent sources of revenue were needed to finance interdependence, particularly that related to accelerated economic and social development. While there was little agreement upon practical sources, most participants recognized the need for financial resources in addition to national contributions.

I am convinced that adequate capital transfer for accelerated economic and social development will not be sufficiently provided through national sources. Hence the importance of assuring additional financial support in the form of fees or surcharges related to international trade, transportation, communications and use of the common heritage.

Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs)

Interestingly enough, the role of NGOs received more attention in this conference than in any of our prior ones even though participants, with few exceptions, came from the public sector. This was enlightening to me because I believe NGOs can play essential roles, both in researching global problems and in stimulating public opinion to support bold action to manage interdependence. Innovative procedures are needed to enable NGOs to have greater input into decision-making at national and global levels.

Leadership

Human endeavors are often handicapped by an inability to boldly project into the future. Prejudices hobble our imaginations and precedents handicap our actions. During our deliberations, both prejudices and precedents were cited as reasons why some proposed management step could not or would not work. Interestingly enough as the conference drew to a close more hesitation surfaced, perhaps indicating that participants were reflecting their government's posture rather than their individual concerns. Managing interdependence calls for a willingness to assume risks and take bold and innovative action. Indefinite future risks of action must be balanced against the predictable present risks of inaction. This calls for leadership.

Message from Kurt Waldheim

Secretary-General
of the United Nations

I am pleased to learn that The Stanley Foundation has decided to discuss, at its Eleventh Conference on the United Nations of the Next Decade, the subject of "Managing Interdependence." As with past conferences, the Foundation is making a serious attempt to develop a greater understanding of the major problems with which the United Nations is confronted.

This theme of interdependence, which has been so widely discussed over the past three or four years, has left in its wake a lively public awareness of the need to tackle the world's problems on a global scale. The United Nations has embarked upon an unprecedented collective endeavor to create global strategies to meet problems that are beyond the power of any single nation to resolve. This was reflected in its decisions at the Sixth and Seventh Special Sessions of the General Assembly on the establishment of a new international economic order and at its world conferences on Trade and Development, Environment, Population, Food, the Role of Women in Society, Industrialization, the Law of the Sea and Human Settlements. In view of the need to implement the decisions of these meetings, it is most relevant that The Stanley Foundation should have selected the subject of "Managing Interdependence" for this year's conference.

These discussions will provide a very special opportunity for some of those involved in the work of the World Organization to review strategies for tackling world problems in an informal atmosphere. I wish you every success for a constructive conference and I look forward, with great interest, to reading the outcome of your deliberations.

The Stanley Foundation

The Stanley Foundation encourages study, research, and education in the field of foreign relations, contributing to secure peace with freedom and justice. Emphasis is given to activities related to world organization. Among the activities of The Stanley Foundation are the following:

The STRATEGY FOR PEACE CONFERENCE explores urgent foreign policy concerns of the United States. It attracts individuals from a wide spectrum of opinion and belief who exchange ideas and recommend action and policies.

The CONFERENCE ON THE UNITED NATIONS OF THE NEXT DECADE brings together international statesmen to consider problems and prospects of the United Nations. Its report recommends changes and steps considered practicable within the next ten years.

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